

THE TRIER IVORY,  
*ADVENTUS* CEREMONIAL,  
AND THE RELICS OF ST. STEPHEN

KENNETH G. HOLUM and GARY VIKAN

ONE of the most enigmatic monuments to have survived from the Early Byzantine period is the so-called translation of the relics ivory now in the Trier Domschatz (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The stylistic and iconographic interpretation of this arresting piece has for decades excited enthusiastic but inconclusive debate. A consensus now seems to agree on an origin in an eastern Mediterranean, preiconoclastic workshop, with a majority of scholars apparently favoring sixth-century Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> No semblance of consensus, however, has formed around any of the current historical interpretations of the piece.<sup>3</sup>

The paucity of comparable monuments extant from the Early Byzantine period will likely forever preclude the establishment of a secure provenance or stylistic dating for the Trier ivory.<sup>4</sup> In the realm of iconography, however, the outlook is not so bleak. For although the plaque is an artistic *unicum*, the event it portrays is of a common type which is well known from a variety of literary and visual sources—the *adventus* ceremony developed in classical antiquity and employed in later periods to celebrate the triumphal arrival of rulers and their portraits, of bishops and other holy men, and of the relics of saints.<sup>5</sup> Although perceptive scholars have remarked upon the *adventus* character of the Trier ivory,<sup>6</sup> surprisingly little has been made of this most striking aspect of the piece. Thus, we propose to reinterpret the plaque in light of relic *adventus* typology, with the two-fold aim of explaining more fully the elements of its visual narrative and of identifying the specific *adventus* it was designed to celebrate.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Katalog VII, 3rd ed. (Mainz, 1976) (hereafter Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*), no. 143. For a detailed description, see R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929) (hereafter Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*), no. 67; for excellent reproductions, see H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer. Tafelband* (Düsseldorf, 1957), pls. 1–5; and for its modern provenance, see B. Fischer, “Die Elfenbeintafel des Trierer Domschatzes: zu ihrer jüngsten Deutung durch Stylianos Pelekanidis 1952,” *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch*, 9 (1969), 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a review of scholarship, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 95 f.; N. Irsch, *Der Dom zu Trier* (Düsseldorf, 1931), 319 ff.; and Fischer, *op. cit.*, 5. The most recent and exhaustive treatment of the piece is S. Spain, “The Translation of Relics Ivory, Trier,” *DOP*, 31 (1978), 279–304 (hereafter Spain, “Translation Ivory”). We would like to thank Ms. Spain for generously allowing us to read her manuscript in advance of publication.

<sup>3</sup> These include the hypothesis of S. Pelekanidis (“Date et interprétation de la plaque en ivoire de Trèves,” *Mélanges Henri Grégoire = AIPHOS*, 12 [1952], 361–71), that it represents the translation of the relics of SS. Joseph and Zacharias to Hagia Sophia in 415; the opinion originating with J. Strzygowski (*Orient oder Rom, Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* [Leipzig, 1901], 85 ff.), that it is the translation of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste to the church of St. Irene in Sycae in 552; and the recent theory of S. Spain (“Translation Ivory”), that it is the return of the True Cross to the Golgotha shrine in 630.

<sup>4</sup> Witness the recent exhaustive stylistic analysis by Spain.

<sup>5</sup> E. Peterson, “Die Einholung des Kyrios,” *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, 7 (1930), 682–702; E. Kantorowicz, “The ‘King’s Advent’ and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina,” *ArtB*, 26 (1944), 207–31 (repr. *idem*, *Selected Studies* [Locust Valley, N.Y., 1965], 37 ff.), S. MacCormack, “Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of *Adventus*,” *Historia*, 21 (1972), 721–52, O. Nussbaum, “Geleit,” *RAC*, fascs. 70–71 (1975), cols. 908–1049, esp. 1024 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherche sur le culte de reliques et l’art chrétien antique*, II (Paris, 1946), 352; N. Gussone, “Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien: Victricius von Rouen, De laude sanctorum,” *FrMSI*, 10 (1976), 130.

## I.

The migration of holy bodies and bones into the metropolitan centers of the Christian Roman Empire began in the fourth century and continued at a steady pace through the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>7</sup> From the numerous accounts of translations which survive in chronicles, ecclesiastical histories, saints' lives, and panegyrics, we have assembled a mosaic image of the ceremonial around which the *adventus* of relics was customarily organized. In assembling this composite image we have occasionally drawn on descriptions of imperial and ecclesiastical *adventus* ceremonies, since both follow a pattern similar to that of relics.<sup>8</sup> We have also found it illuminating to adduce examples of sculpture and medieval miniature painting which suggest how various aspects of *adventus* ceremonial might be visualized.

The arrival of relics constituted a major community event which required the mobilization and participation of the populace.<sup>9</sup> According to Sozomen, the procession accompanying the coffin of St. Babylas into Antioch in 362 included all of the city's Christians, both men and women, the young and old, virgins and children.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Victricius of Rouen describes how the arrival of relics in his city in 396 called forth citizens of all ages and classes, including priests, deacons, children, monks, virgins, and widows.<sup>11</sup> Such mobilizations responded to the hope that the arriving relics would benefit and protect the entire *polis*,<sup>12</sup> a theory which also accounts for the inclusion of relic arrivals in the consular chronicles of Constantinople along with other events which affected the entire community, like earthquakes, dedications of churches and cisterns, and imperial arrivals and anniversary celebrations.<sup>13</sup>

The first and most prominent phase of the ceremonial was the *synantesis* (also *hypantesis* or *apantesis*),<sup>14</sup> the joyous and tumultuous meeting of arriving relics (or emperor, imperial portrait, or bishop) and receiving populace. The

<sup>7</sup> H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, SubsHag, 20 (Brussels, 1933), 50 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Peterson, *op. cit.*, 693; Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, 212 note 28; MacCormack, *op. cit.*, 746 ff.

<sup>9</sup> In the words of Delehay (*op. cit.*, 55): "On déployait, pour les recevoir, une pompe vraiment royale, et la ville entière se mettait en mouvement."

<sup>10</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 19, ed. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen, GCS, 50 (Berlin, 1960), 226.

<sup>11</sup> *De laude sanctorum*, 2-3 and *passim*, ed. R. Herval, *Origines chrétiennes de la II<sup>e</sup> Lyonnaise gallo-romaine à la Normandie ducale (IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Rouen-Paris, 1966), 112 ff. For another especially colorful example, see John Chrysostom, *De S. hieromartyre Phoca*, 1, PG, 50, cols. 699-700.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., John Chrysostom, *Laudatio martyrum Aegyptiorum*, 1, PG, 50, col. 694 f., claims that the relics of martyrs protect a city much more effectively than "walls, trenches, weapons, and hosts of soldiers" not only against human enemies but against unseen demons, the devil, and the Lord Himself, for "when He rages on account of our sin, these bodies may be set forth to shield us and will quickly make Him merciful toward the city." See also the Syriac *vita* of St. Symeon Stylites quoted *infra*, note 91.

<sup>13</sup> See the *Consularia constantinopolitana*, 356, 357, and *passim*, printed with parallels from the *Chronicon paschale*, in MGH, AA, IX (Berlin, 1892), 238-45. On the so-called *Konsultafelannalen* of Constantinople, cf. A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Jena, 1882), 34 ff.; and esp. O. Holder-Egger, "Die Chronik des Marcellinus Comes und die oströmische Fasten," *NA*, 2 (1877), 82 ff., who observes that they included relic translations as "lokal städtische Ereignisse."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Peterson, *op. cit.*, 693, on variant technical terms.

doors of the city would open, the citizens would emerge, and with various gestures and symbols of honor and victory they would greet the arrival.<sup>15</sup> Prominent among their symbolic props would be censers, lamps or candles, and palm branches or crosses, and their gestures of honor and greeting would customarily include psalms, hymns, and acclamations.<sup>16</sup> The *Vita* of Symeon Stylites the Elder provides an especially vivid example. When his body arrived in Antioch in 459,

... the entire city went out to greet (εἰς συνάντησιν) the incredible sight, everyone clad in white, with candles, lamps, and hymns, all shouting and saying: Our shepherd has come bringing to us a heavenly treasure which is beyond price. Make open the gates of the city, while men rejoice and the earth is made glad, and as we who are sinners give glory to God, saying: "Holy, Holy, Holy art Thou, O Lord."<sup>17</sup>

To our knowledge, no images survive from the preiconoclastic period which compare precisely with such textual accounts. Forty years ago Hans Lietzmann published a single papyrus leaf from a lost world chronicle of the fourth or fifth century (fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> On it is described and illustrated the translation of relics of SS. Andrew and Luke to Constantinople in 336. It is, however, a text-column illustration of the simplest variety,<sup>19</sup> which shows only a schematic *adventus*. Two men with relics in their hands approach the city walls and gate of Constantinople which, due to artistic economy, must suffice to evoke the receiving *polis*.<sup>20</sup>

A closer visual approximation of the *synanteses* phase of a relic *adventus* may be gained from iconographically related monuments. The arch of Galerius in Salonica, for example, offers an unusually detailed representation of the *synanteses* phase of an imperial *adventus* (fig. 3).<sup>21</sup> Seated in the imperial wagon, Ga-

<sup>15</sup> Proclus of Constantinople suggests a lively scenario for an imperial *synanteses* in a sermon: *In ramos palmarum*, PG, 65, cols. 772ff. Cf. also Peterson, *op. cit.*, 693; and MacCormack, *op. cit.*, 723, 748.

<sup>16</sup> See Victricius, *De laude sanctorum*, 3, ed. Herval, 114; Antonius, *Vita Simeonis*, 31-32, ed. H. Lietzmann, *TU*, 32,4 (1908), 72-76; *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, I.14, ed. B. Evetts, PO, 1 (Paris, 1907), 506; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6119, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), 328 lines 2-6; and the Menologium of Basil, II.142, PG, 117, col. 284, for representative examples.

<sup>17</sup> Antonius, *Vita Simeonis*, 32, ed. Lietzmann, 76.

<sup>18</sup> "Ein Blatt aus einer antiken Weltchronik," *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends* (London, 1937), 339ff. (with illustration).

<sup>19</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, II, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1970), 75.

<sup>20</sup> A similar economic mode of presentation characterizes the imperial *adventus* in numismatic art, e.g., in the Arras medallion of Constantius I and the nine-solidus piece of Constantine I in Paris; cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, American Numismatic Society: Numismatic Studies, V (New York, 1944), pls. 8.4, 17.11, p. 106ff.

We omit from this discussion an enigmatic late antique bas relief in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales de Saint-Germain-en-Laye (no. 79971), linked by R. Lantier to the Trier ivory; for a summary of Lantier's discussion, see, most recently, A. Pelletier, *Vienne gallo-romaine au bas-empire: 275-468 après J.-C.* (Lyons, 1974), 153f., fig. 29.

<sup>21</sup> H. P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck der Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki*, Archäologische Forschungen, I (Berlin, 1975), 61ff., pls. 45-50.



lerius approaches with his cavalcade from the left. At the right are the walls of a city, out of which pour first the citizens with torches and flowers, then the soldiers with their standards. A more familiar *adventus* is that of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.<sup>22</sup> The version of the sixth-century Rossano Gospels (fig. 4),<sup>23</sup> for example, shows Christ atop a donkey approaching from the left. At the far right are the city walls and open gate of Jerusalem, out of which has come the local citizenry—most holding palm branches, although a few are bowing to drape their garments before the path of Christ. Especially evocative of the spirit and makeup of the crowd is the small group of children in short tunics; some have just emerged from the city and appear to be fighting over a palm branch, while others are leaning out open windows above the gate, acknowledging Christ's triumphant arrival by thrusting forward small palm fronds. One can easily imagine their acclamation (John 12:13): "Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord."

Relic *adventus* descriptions are much less explicit and detailed in treating subsequent phases of the arrival ceremonial; the Symeon *Vita*, for example, notes only that "they carried him into the church, that named for Casianos."<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, at least two distinct phases may be identified after the *synantesis*. The first is the procession or *propompe* which, perhaps through a combination of spontaneity and design, formed around the relics and accompanied them into the city. Scattered throughout the textual accounts are numerous references to such processions and to honorary escorts or *propempontes*. The Empress Eudoxia, for example, escorted (προέπεμψε) relics through Constantinople and its suburbs during the middle of the night;<sup>25</sup> the remains of John Chrysostom were accompanied by the Patriarch Proclus to the church of the Holy Apostles;<sup>26</sup> Ursus, the prefect of Constantinople, acted as escort (ὄψρου προπέμποντος) for the bones of Joseph and Zacharias, and with him walked the entire senate;<sup>27</sup> while in the case of Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, it is noted only that his remains were "conveyed . . . through the city, attended by a solemn procession."<sup>28</sup> Like the *synantesis*, this phase would be marked by acclamations, psalms, lights, and censers, although the tone of the translation would seem to be more solemn, organized, and exclusive. A few high-ranking figures step forward to act as escorts, while the relics themselves are likely given a position of greater prominence and honor. The remains of Ignatius, John the Baptist, Joseph and Zacharias, Symeon the Stylite, and the Forty

<sup>22</sup> E. Dinkler, *Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Ikonographische Untersuchungen in Anschluss an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Geisteswissenschaften, 167 (Opladen, 1970), esp. 42ff.

<sup>23</sup> A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento sinopense* (Rome, 1907), pl. II.

<sup>24</sup> Antonius, *Vita Simeonis*, loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup> John Chrysostom, *Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum, etc.*, PG, 63, cols. 467–72.

<sup>26</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.45,3, ed. R. Hussey (Oxford, 1853), II, 834.

<sup>27</sup> *Chronicon paschale*, a. 415, Bonn ed. (1832), 572f.; cf. MacCormack, *op. cit.*, 737 note 96, for senators of Rome escorting the chariot of an arriving emperor.

<sup>28</sup> Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.16, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 26.

Martyrs are described as being placed atop wagons, either civil or imperial,<sup>29</sup> and in at least two cases the reliquaries are under the personal protection of a pair of high ecclesiastics.<sup>30</sup>

No visual evocation of a relic *propompe* with which to compare the Trier ivory seems to have survived from the preiconoclastic period. Such scenes do, however, appear fairly frequently in Middle Byzantine manuscript illumination. For example, the fourth miniature marking January 22 in the famous Menologium of Basil II shows the procession of the remains of Anastasius of Persia to a church in the city of Caesarea (fig. 5).<sup>31</sup> The sarcophagus of the dead martyr is carried forward on the shoulders of two anonymous ecclesiastics, while leading the way as *propempontes* are four additional figures, two with candles and one with a censer. In the background are the encircling walls of Caesarea, while just before the advancing procession is the basilical church in which the body of Anastasius will soon be deposited. A composition basically similar to this one appears on folio 106<sup>v</sup> of the illustrated chronicle of John Scylitzes in Madrid, thought to date around the mid-twelfth century (fig. 6).<sup>32</sup> It represents the return to Constantinople of the remains of Emperor Michael III.<sup>33</sup> His bones are brought forward from the right in a gabled box supported by a plank resting on the shoulders of two young men. Acting as escorts are, from right to left, Patriarch Stephen I, Alexander, brother of Leo VI, and a tightly knit group of court singers. Their ultimate destination, at the far left of the miniature, is the church of the Holy Apostles.

The third and final phase of the relic *adventus* ceremonial, as it may be reconstructed from surviving textual accounts, is the *apothesis* (or *katathesis*), the "deposition" of the relics in a church. The first two recorded translations to Constantinople, that of Timothy in 356 and that of Andrew and Luke in 357, both end with the phrase: "... and [the relics] were deposited [ἀπετέθη] in the [church of the] Holy Apostles."<sup>34</sup> Victricius of Rouen notes that it is the *ecclesia civitatis* which welcomes the arriving relics; similarly, Samuel's remains were "deposited" in 406, those of Joseph and Zacharias in 415, those of Stephen in 421, those of Chrysostom in 438, and so on.<sup>35</sup> In each case the point of destina-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.12,2, ed. Bidez and Hansen, 333; *Chronicon paschale*, *loc. cit.*; Antonius, *Vita Simeonis*, 31, ed. Lietzmann, 72; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6044, ed. de Boor, 228 lines 6–11.

<sup>30</sup> *Chronicon paschale*, *loc. cit.*; Theophanes, *loc. cit.*

<sup>31</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, Codices e vaticanis selecti, VIII (Turin, 1907), II, 344. On the date of this manuscript, see S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II," *Byzantion*, 15 (1940–41), 104–25; and I. Ševčenko, "On Pantoleon the Painter," *JÖBG*, 21 (1972), 249.

<sup>32</sup> S. Cirac Estopañan, *Skyllitizes Matritensis*, I. *Reproducciones y Miniaturas* (Barcelona-Madrid, 1965), no. 250; for the date, see N. G. Wilson, "The Madrid Scylitzes," *Scrittura e civiltà*, 2 (1978), 209–19.

<sup>33</sup> For the text, see John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, CFHB, V (1973), 172 lines 80–88.

<sup>34</sup> *Chronicon paschale*, aa. 356, 357, Bonn ed., 542. The earlier translation of Andrew and Luke (*supra*, p. 117 and note 18) had involved not the bodies of the saints but only their clothing.

<sup>35</sup> Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, 2, ed. Herval, 113; *Chronicon paschale*, aa. 406, 415, Bonn ed., 569, 573; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 5920, ed. de Boor, 87 line 5 (using κατέθετο); Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.45,3, ed. Hussey, II, 834.

tion is a church, and the common Greek term for deposition is *apothesis*. It has been suggested that this act was the single most universal and characteristic feature of the dedication of a church or altar in the East during the first centuries after the triumph of Christianity.<sup>36</sup>

Again, no representation of precisely this event survives in preiconoclastic art, nor, for that matter, in the art of the Middle or Late Byzantine periods. In the Menologium of Basil II texts describing the *apothesis* of relics are usually illustrated with the well-known *topos* of a dying martyr being buried by his faithful followers. For example, the miniature coupled with the text for October 18 commemorates the deposition of the relics of St. Luke in the nave of the Holy Apostles Church in 357 (fig. 7).<sup>37</sup> The *locus* is evoked by the enclosing city walls and by a five-domed church. Instead of showing the deposition of a reliquary below an altar, however, the illuminator has reverted to a well-known iconographic formula and has, quite inappropriately, shown the burial of the saint in a sarcophagus. Perhaps a more accurate image of the *apothesis* phase of a relic *adventus* is provided by a miniature found in a tenth-century manuscript on Mt. Athos (Vatopedi cod. 456, fol. 253r), where it was apparently intended to illustrate a homily on the translation of the head of St. Abibos (fig. 8).<sup>38</sup> Here we see a procession made up of three clerics, one with censer and pyxis, and a civil official dressed in a chlamys. In the right background is a small basilical church. Apparently the group has reached its destination, since, with the exception of the figure at the far right, all of its members have stopped. That figure, however, advances briskly, thrusting forward a small reliquary box in his outstretched hands. The church, presumably that of the Abibos monastery, has been positioned so as to "receive" the offered shrine—conceptually if not physically.

This is the relic *adventus* ceremonial insofar as we have been able to reconstruct it from texts and to evoke it visually through sculpture and medieval miniature painting. With this evidence in mind, we can now turn our attention to the ivory plaque in the Trier Cathedral treasury.

## II.

It should be obvious at once that the moment portrayed on the ivory is not the *synantesis*, the joyous public meeting outside the city gate. This is clear not only from the *mise-en-scène*, which shows neither city walls nor open city

<sup>36</sup> D. Stiefenhofer, *Die Geschichte der Kirchenweihe vom 1.–7. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1909), 94. Theodore Balsamon, *Responsa ad interrogationes Marci*, 38, PG, 138, col. 989, gives *apothesis* of relics as the last step in the liturgy for dedicating a church, after the ἀνοίξια, the ἐνθρονισμός, and the χρίσμα ὁρίου μύρου. See also H. Emonds, "Enkainia," in *Gesammelte Arbeiten zum 800 jährigen Weihegedächtnis der Abteikirche Maria Laach am 24. August 1956*, ed. H. Emonds (Düsseldorf, 1956), 40f.

<sup>37</sup> *Il Menologio*, II, 121.

<sup>38</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 20f., pl. xxv, no. 140. For the identification of the iconography, see *idem*, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenetos," *CahArch*, 11 (1960), 139f. (repr. *idem*, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. Kessler [Chicago-London, 1971], 240f.).

gate, but also from the makeup and demeanor of the crowd, which shows neither the variety nor the spontaneity characteristic of textual accounts or visual representations of *synantesis*. Rather, the phase of the *adventus* ceremonial evoked by the Trier ivory is the *propompe*, the ritualized escorting of the holy treasure into and through the city after its public, extramural epiphany. Concealed in a small, gabled box, the relics have been placed atop an imposing, decorated wagon, perhaps an imperial wagon, drawn by a pair of stocky mules (fig. 1).<sup>39</sup> They have been assigned to the personal care of two bishops wearing dalmatic and *omophorion*, and are being escorted toward the church of the *apothesis* by four *chlamydati*, each carrying a candle. The first of these, and leader of the entire cortège, is an emperor.<sup>40</sup>

The elements of the ivory thus far described are fully consistent with the *adventus* typology constructed earlier from textual and visual sources. This iconographic "core" essentially matches that of the translation of Anastasius of Persia in the Menologium of Basil II (fig. 5), with the important distinction that on the Trier ivory the translation is conducted with the participation of the emperor and two important church figures. In this respect, the Trier *adventus* corresponds more closely to that of the bones of Michael III in the Scylitzes Chronicle (fig. 6). Conducted under imperial and patriarchal patronage, the latter includes among the *propempontes* both the Emperor Alexander and the Patriarch Stephen.

To this core of canonical *adventus* typology the Trier ivory carver, or the creator of his model, has added a number of elements which reveal the unusual character of this specific *adventus*. One of these elements is the structure toward

<sup>39</sup> The textual accounts cited *supra*, note 29, suggest that relics were customarily placed atop civil or imperial wagons drawn by mules. Several scholars (e.g., Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 266) have offered Christian interpretations for the three togate figures decorating the side of the Trier wagon or have attempted to link them symbolically with the saint being translated. It seems to us more probable that they were added in order to evoke the idea of imperial *Prachtwagen*. Folio 172<sup>v</sup> of the illustrated Scylitzes chronicle (cf. Cirac Estopañan, *op. cit.*, no. 450) shows the *adventus* of a revered icon on an imperial wagon decked in purple cloth. Proclus, *In ramos palmarum*, 1, PG, 65, col. 773, evokes an imperial *adventus* featuring ἀρματα χρυσοκόλλητα pulled by mules.

<sup>40</sup> This figure wears the normal "service costume" of Early Byzantine emperors, with, as its principle insignia, the diadem and chlamys, the full-length cloak secured on the right shoulder with an elaborate jeweled fibula; see Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 36 ff.; P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II, 1 (Washington, D.C., 1966), 76 ff., 80 ff., citing more recent literature; and P. Váczy, "Helm und Diadem (Numismatische Beiträge zur Entstehung der byzantinischen Kaiserkrone)," *Acta AntHung*, 20 (1972), 169-208. In our view insignia provide no evidence for precise dating of the piece; contrast, however, Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, 268 f., and Spain, "Translation Ivory," 283 ff. The diadem is of a unique type, consisting of a plain band with a series of half-circles projecting below it and crude "pendilia" suspended from it above the ears. Spain (p. 283) discerns "five short, scallop-like projections" above the band, but we see only locks of hair (fig. 1; cf. Delbrueck's description, p. 266). We would be most comfortable with a date for the diadem between the early fifth and late sixth centuries. Pendilia first appear in a dated monument on the Probus diptych of 406 (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 1, pl. 1). On the other hand, the diadem of the Trier ivory emperor lacks not only the normal front jewel but also the striking cruciform ornament which rises from it regularly on examples from coin portraits beginning 578. Spain (pp. 284 f.), following N. M. Běljaev, "Očerki po vizantijskoj arheologii, I. Fibula v' Vizantii," *SemKond*, 3 (1929), 96, 114 (German summary), finds parallels for the emperor's fibula on coins of the seventh century, but the fibulae of the Trier ivory (including those of the other figures) are too crudely made to permit any conclusions. In addition, Spain's examples of seventh-century "two pendant fibulae" (which she attempts to compare with the emperor's fibula on the Trier ivory) would all show three pendants if one were not concealed behind a beard or a neighboring figure.

which the relics are being conveyed, a small basilical church with projecting apse (fig. 1). The four workmen clambering about on its roof<sup>41</sup> leave little doubt that this structure is just now being completed, specifically to enshrine the arriving treasure.<sup>42</sup>

Just before the open west door of the church is a woman who, to judge from her costume, must be an empress.<sup>43</sup> Though the mules still draw the wagon vigorously to the right toward this person, the head of the procession has already reached its destination. The emperor and other *propempontes* direct posture and gaze at the empress, who stands slightly in the foreground, her right hand extended to receive the relics. By virtue of both her gesture and her position before the church, and because (despite her relatively small size<sup>44</sup>) she alone is the focus of movement and attention, we believe that she must be recognized as the prime instigator or patron of this relic translation, and, by extension, as the founder (*ktistes*) of the church.<sup>45</sup>

The Menologium of Basil II again provides an instructive visual and thematic parallel, this time in the miniature marking January 27 and the return to Constantinople in 438 of the remains of John Chrysostom (fig. 9).<sup>46</sup> The core elements are much like those of the Anastasius translation: the sarcophagus is carried in from the left, preceded by a group of ecclesiastical *propempontes* with candles; in the background is the five-domed church of the Holy Apostles in which the *apothesis* soon will take place. This time, however, the relics are first to be received by the two instigators of the translation: the Patriarch Proclus, with *omophorion*, book, and censer, and the Emperor Theodosius II. According to Socrates, Proclus persuaded Theodosius to repatriate the bones of Chrysostom thirty-five years after his exile, and personally acted as escort during the procession to the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>47</sup> Theodoret notes that Theodosius brought the treasure into the city; "laying his eyes and forehead upon the coffin, he uttered supplications for his parents, pleading that

<sup>41</sup> A fifth workman peers out of the open west portal of the church, while several additional heads are suggested in its hollowed interior.

<sup>42</sup> Both the large west portal and a small door in the center of the south side-aisle are conspicuously open. One is reminded of the text of Theodore Balsamon (note 36 *supra*) and of the ἀνοψία which preceded the *apothesis* in the liturgy of church dedication.

<sup>43</sup> This figure wears the normal "service costume" of Early Byzantine empresses, including the same principle insignia (diadem, chlamys with jeweled fibula) as its masculine counterpart (note 40 *supra*). The marriage solidus of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia, struck in 437 in Constantinople (see E. Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, *DOP*, 14 [1960], 7, figs. 21, 22), provides a *terminus a quo* of sorts, because the costume of the Trier ivory empress shows the same enrichment of the female chlamys with a pearl border and a similar elaborate headdress with long pendilia. Even closer parallels for her costume and insignia exist in a number of ivories and full plastic empress heads most often dated ca. 470–550; cf. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 51–52, p. 27 (the "Ariadne" ivories in Florence and Vienna); and (most recently) S. Sande, "Zur Porträtplastik des sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts," *Acta IR Norv.*, 6 (1975), 67ff., pls. 9–14 (empress heads in the Lateran and Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, and in the Louvre), 93ff., pls. 46–48 (the "Theodora" head in Milan).

<sup>44</sup> Determined, at least in part, by the miniature scale of the church to which she is linked both compositionally and iconographically. Were she any taller she would block the open west portal, an element integral to the ceremonial of translation and deposition.

<sup>45</sup> This reading of the piece was anticipated by E. Dyggve, *History of Salonician Christianity* (Oslo, 1951), 60f.

<sup>46</sup> *Il Menologio*, II, 353.

<sup>47</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.45, ed. Hussey, II, 833f.

they be forgiven for the wrongs they had committed out of ignorance."<sup>48</sup> The similarity between the iconography of this miniature and that of the Trier ivory is obvious. In the ivory, however, the empress acts alone as the receiving party, and her gesture is not one of supplication or humility, but rather of open hospitality, as if she were about to meet a friend at the threshold of her dwelling and welcome him in.<sup>49</sup>

In her left arm the empress cradles a large, simply-fashioned cross, consisting of a long vertical member and a short crosspiece, both squared. Within the framework of *adventus* typology this object should be recognized not as an attribute of rank or sainthood,<sup>50</sup> but as an attribute of the meeting itself. It is the Christianized descendant, both morphologically and symbolically, of the *vexilla* offered by the receiving soldiers on the arch of Galerius (fig. 3), of the ubiquitous palm fronds offered to Christ at the gates of Jerusalem (fig. 4), and, to adduce an example from further afield, of the *vexilla* carried by the personified *natio* or province which receives the emperor on *adventus* coins of Hadrian.<sup>51</sup> According to Victricius of Rouen, the arrival of relics in his city in 396 was greeted by a choir of pious virgins, each bearing the sign of the cross.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, when Bishop Porphyry returned to Gaza in 402, the Christians of the city came forth to meet him and his party (ὑπήντησαν) "carrying the sign of the precious cross . . . and singing hymns."<sup>53</sup> The cross cradled in the left arm of the Trier empress, like the gesture of her right hand, at once identifies her as the receiving party and characterizes the *adventus* as a triumphant event, partaking in the ultimate victory of Christ on Golgotha.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, V.36,2, ed. L. Parmentier, rev. ed. F. Scheidweiler (Berlin, 1954), 338. In contrast with the apposite miniature, the text of the Menologium (II.140, PG, 117, col. 284) reports only that "the revered relics arrived and were placed with honor in the Church of the Holy Apostles."

<sup>49</sup> Contrast also the Empress Eudoxia, who escorted relics of unknown martyrs ca. 400 (p. 118 *supra*), attending the saints "like a handmaiden" (θεραπεινίς), admirable in "the contrition of her spirit and her humility": John Chrysostom, *Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum, etc.*, 1-2, PG, 63, col. 469f. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 102, identifies the "caractère plus ou moins pénitentiel" of such events.

<sup>50</sup> E. Schäfer, "Die Heiligen mit dem Kreuz in der altchristlichen Kunst," *RQ*, 44 (1936), 73 note 39; and Spain, "Translation Ivory," 285, assume that it is an attribute of rank, although Schäfer admits disquiet: "... obwohl es in seiner Form von dem üblichen Kreuzzepter abweicht und die Gestalt des Triumfkreuzes aufweist" (cf. note 54 *infra*). Strzygowski, *op. cit.* (note 3 *supra*), 87f., identifies the female figure as the martyr St. Irene, presumably implying that the cross is an attribute of sanctity.

<sup>51</sup> H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, *Vespasian to Hadrian* (London, 1926), 451 no. 875, 453 no. 883, 455-56 nos. 897-900, 904; Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent'" (note 5 *supra*), 213. Contrast J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), 34, 69, 124ff., who interprets the *vexillum* on these coins as an attribute not of the *adventus* but of the personified province.

<sup>52</sup> *De laude sanctorum*, 3, ed. Herval, 114f.

<sup>53</sup> Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii*, 58, ed. H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (Paris, 1930), 47. Cf. *Liber pontificalis*, CIV. 9-10, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886-1957), II, 88, for crosses honoring the advent of a secular ruler, *id est signa, sicut mos est imperatorem aut regem suscipere*.

<sup>54</sup> See Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 101. In size, shape, and the manner in which it is held, the Trier ivory cross is closest to that carried by St. Peter in a fifth-century marble fragment now in East Berlin (no. 3234); cf. K. Wessel, "Ein kleinasiatisches Fragment einer Brüstungsplatte," *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Forschungen und Berichte*, 1 (1957), 77-81. There it serves not as an attribute of St. Peter and his martyrdom, but rather as a symbol of the victory of Christ on Golgotha, manifest in the miracle scene to which Peter serves as witness (see Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 81; and E. Kitzinger, "A Marble Relief of the Theodosian Period," *DOP*, 14 [1960], 40f., cf. p. 37, where Kitzinger interprets the cross held by St. Paul in a closely related relief at Dumbarton Oaks).

Of equal importance with church and empress for determining the specific historical context of this relic procession is the dense curtain of figures and architectural motifs lining its route. Clearly, this is not a random cityscape, nor is it a heterogeneous group of citizens, each spontaneously expressing his greeting for the arriving cortège. Rather, it is a single piece of impressive architecture—a three-story arcade—inhabited by an orderly, disciplined group of men.<sup>55</sup> In marked contrast to the normal typology of relic *adventus* there are here neither women, children, nor old people; there is variety neither in rank nor in behavior. The nine men lining the second story seem to have been charged with the sole responsibility of censuring the procession, and, to judge from their peculiar gestures, of singing its acclamations.<sup>56</sup> The nine respond as one, as if well rehearsed or guided by some unseen director. Above and below them are more than two dozen nearly identical male busts. Strangely, these figures look neither toward the relics nor toward the church. Rather, like rows of wooden duckpins, they stare rigidly and mutely ahead.

The discipline and order of this group and its setting could hardly stand in greater contrast to the confused spontaneity evoked by an *adventus* miniature from the famous Ashburnham Pentateuch (fig. 10),<sup>57</sup> which portrays Joseph's triumphant procession through the streets of Egypt after his promotion by Pharaoh to viceroy. He advances from the left in a large wagon preceded by two heralds. At the right is a jumble of roofs and windows in which appears a variety of Egyptians, some looking on passively and others falling to their knees to honor the arriving viceroy. That the artist responsible for the Trier ivory was capable of such liveliness is clear from his treatment of the workmen on the roof of the church. That he chose to avoid it in the background of the piece suggests that the staging of this particular translation was special, both in terms of location and in terms of the choice and behavior of its participants.

Indeed, the compositional relationship of the procession to its background suggests that the advancing wagon has just passed through a gate into a special precinct. An instructive comparison, both visually and thematically, is provided by a fragmented sarcophagus lid in Stockholm which was produced in Rome toward the end of the third century (fig. 11).<sup>58</sup> It shows the triumphal procession of a deceased magistrate with an unidentified companion. Although most investigators have interpreted this procession as a symbolic "last ride" into the hereafter, Winfried Weber has recently suggested that the Stockholm piece and the more than two dozen contemporary sarcophagus lids and *loculus* plaques related to it present an allegory of the deceased's lifespan, his *cursus*

<sup>55</sup> It consists of an arcade resting on piers which is surmounted by a colonnaded window level, and above that a terrace roof backed by a shallow arcade.

<sup>56</sup> A. Hermann, "Mit der Hand singen: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der trierer Elfenbeintafel," *JbAChr*, 1 (1958), 105–8.

<sup>57</sup> O. von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London, 1883), fol. 40<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, I (Rome, 1929), pl. 24.1. For its dating and pagan interpretation, see N. Himmelmann, *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Mainz, 1973), 31 ff., pl. 50.

*vitae*.<sup>59</sup> The wagon with its contingent of escorts has just passed through a triumphal arch marked with trophies and a heroic rider and is being welcomed—either into the realm of the hereafter or onto “life’s way”—by an old woman waving a garment out of her window. The wagon’s ultimate destination, as may be deduced from the related reliefs, is the deceased’s mausoleum—an obvious counterpart to the church on the Trier ivory. The compositional and iconographic similarities between the Trier and Stockholm processions suggest that the two-story *tetrapylon* structure at the far left of the Trier relief is also a gate,<sup>60</sup> and that the relics have just passed through it into a significant area. This impression is fully consistent with the three-dimensional effect of the piece itself,<sup>61</sup> which creates a strong sense of movement from left to right, as though the wagon were sweeping through the gate, along the arcade, and toward the empress and the church.

It is now worth recalling that over the years many scholars<sup>62</sup> have recognized in the Trier *tetrapylon* the famous Chalke gate, the main entrance to the imperial palace in Constantinople over whose great bronze portals was set, at least as early as the seventh century, a revered icon of Christ.<sup>63</sup> Such an interpretation harmonizes perfectly with the compositional dynamics of the piece, and with its pervasively imperial, courtly iconography. Indeed, it would be hard to believe that this imposing portal with its prominent bust portrait of Christ and its proximity to emperor and empress was not intended to evoke the famous Chalke, and that it did not have that meaning for an Early Byzantine viewer.

If the relics are passing through the Chalke gate, then the significant area must be either within or outside the palace complex. A number of scholars have recognized the three-story arcade on the relief as generally representative of palace architecture,<sup>64</sup> as a palace façade or as the arcade surrounding an interior court (“salone ipetrale”); others might prefer a structure on the *mese*,<sup>65</sup> the main thoroughfare of Constantinople which was flanked by two-story porticoes and which abutted on the Chalke.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> W. Weber, *Die Darstellungen einer Wagenfahrt auf römischen Sarkophagdekeln und Loculusplatten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, *Archaeologica*, 5 (Rome, 1978), no. 16 and *passim*. The striking relationship between the Trier and Stockholm reliefs is noted in a review of Ms. Weber’s book by J. Carder, forthcoming in *Archaeological News*.

<sup>60</sup> The Trier structure recedes diagonally toward the left. It consists of four columns resting on a high plinth, above which is set a narrow, four-column attic topped by a very low gabled roof.

<sup>61</sup> This effect is especially clear in a diagonal photograph published by Delbrueck, *Die Consular-diptychen*, 263, fig. 3.

<sup>62</sup> E.g., O. Wulff, *Die altchristliche Kunst*, I (Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1913), 195; E. Dyggve, *Ravennatum palatium sacrum*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. *Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*, III, 2 (Copenhagen, 1941), 13; Pelekanidis, *op. cit.* (note 3 *supra*), 371; V. Grumel, “A propos de la plaque d’ivoire du trésor de Trèves,” *REB*, 12 (1954), 189; Fischer, *op. cit.* (note 1 *supra*), 11f.; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 96. Cf. most recently P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), I, 606ff. note 90.

<sup>63</sup> C. Mango, *The Brazen House*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. *Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*, IV, 4 (Copenhagen, 1959), esp. 108ff. Mango (p. 104) refrains from using the Trier ivory as evidence for the Chalke because of controversy over its “origin, date and subject-matter.”

<sup>64</sup> E.g., Strzygowski, *op. cit.* (note 3 *supra*), 86; Dyggve, *Ravennatum palatium sacrum*, 13f.; Pelekanidis, *op. cit.*, 371; Grumel, *op. cit.*, 189; Fischer, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>65</sup> Delbrueck reacts against this opinion: *Die Consular-diptychen*, 267.

<sup>66</sup> R. Guillard, *Etudes de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1969), II, 69ff.



Although we know of no description of a relic procession through this gate, Corippus does provide an account of Justinian's funeral cortège which passed through the Chalke, along the *mese*, and toward the church of the Holy Apostles:<sup>67</sup>

Without further delay he [Justin] ordered the bier to be lifted with his imperial nod, and the people left the whole palace, and the sad procession lit the funeral candles. Every sex and age met for the exequies. Who can enumerate the wonders of so great a procession? On one side a venerable line of singing deacons, on the other a choir of virgins sang: their voices reached the sky. Tears flowed like snow: the clothes of everyone were wet with the rain, and their streaming eyes swam in their own moisture and watered their faces and breasts. Mothers walked with their hair loosened in grief; some were in front of the doors, others in the higher parts of the building filling the tall windows with their crowded numbers: like the gathering of birds massed together on the banks of the Hyperborean Hister, forced by the harshness of winter to leave the icy lands. . . . many burned pious incense for his passing. From all sides the sad people came running in their anxiety to look.

Especially striking in this account is the "venerable line of singing deacons" and the image of spectators filling doorways and windows. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from such parallels between ivory and text that the Trier *propompe* must be leaving the palace. The "singing deacons" or their equivalent were part of court ceremonial and would be as appropriate inside as outside the palace.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, the idea of crowded doors and windows is a *topos* applicable to any procession. On the other hand, the selectivity and discipline evident in the background of the Trier ivory stand in marked contrast to the confused, popular demonstration evoked by the Corippus description, and accordingly speak for a location inside the palace for both procession and church.

### III.

Isolation of iconographical elements which do not reflect the general typology of the late antique relic *adventus* is the key to the interpretation of our ivory. These elements make it clear that despite the commonplaces (*propompe* with imperial participation, wagon with two bishops, use of incense, lights, and song, dedication of a church) the event portrayed is not ideal but historical.

<sup>67</sup> *In laudem Iustini*, III.36–56, ed. and trans. Averil Cameron (London, 1976), 61 f., 103.

<sup>68</sup> In his sermon *In ramos palmarum*, 1, PG, 65, col. 773, Proclus imagines an imperial *adventus* scenario in which "they organize choruses in various places to chant praises" (χορούς ἑγκωμίων κατὰ τόπους συνυφαίνουσιν). Pacatus, *Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto dictus*, 37.3, ed. E. Galletier, III (Paris, 1955) 103 f., describes similar "choruses" which greeted Theodosius in Emona in 388 with antiphonal songs on the triumph of Theodosius and the defeat of the usurper Maximus. Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1976), 246, suggests that these were "choirs of professional singers."

Moreover, the atypical elements (entry into a significant area, court atmosphere, especial emphasis on an empress as recipient and *ktistes*) are unusual and specific enough to indicate that there can have been few events which might invite our attention as possibilities. Happily, one relic *adventus* is known from literary sources which corresponds so closely with the iconography of the Trier ivory that it has a strong claim to be the event portrayed.

The main text is a passage of Theophanes Confessor (ninth century) which records a sequence of events in the reign of Theodosius II (d. 450) and of his sister Pulcheria Augusta:

Under the influence of the blessed Pulcheria, the pious Theodosius sent a rich donation to the archbishop of Jerusalem for distribution to the needy, and also a golden cross studded with precious stones to be erected on Golgotha. In exchange for these gifts, the archbishop dispatched relics of the right arm of Stephen Protomartyr, in the care of St. Passarion. When this man had reached Chalcedon, in that very night the blessed Pulcheria saw St. Stephen in a vision saying to her: "Behold, your prayer has been heard and your desire has come to pass, for I have arrived in Chalcedon." And she arose taking her brother with her and went to greet the holy relics. Receiving them into the palace, she founded a splendid chapel for the holy Protomartyr, and in it she deposited the holy relics.<sup>69</sup>

George Cedrenus (eleventh century)<sup>70</sup> and Nicephorus Callistus (fourteenth century)<sup>71</sup> relate the same sequence of events, the former copying Theophanes and the latter drawing upon the same chronicle tradition, but conflating it ineptly with legendary accounts of another translation of Stephen's remains to Constantinople,<sup>72</sup> and adding also nonsensical speculation on Pulcheria's motives in the transaction.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 5920, ed. de Boor, I, 86 line 26–87 line 5: Θεοδοσίος ὁ εὐσεβὴς κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς μακαρίας Πουλχερίας πολλά χρήματα τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς διάδοσιν τῶν χρεῖαν ἔχοντων, καὶ σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν πρὸς τὸ παγῆναι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ κρανίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἀντίδωρον ἀποστέλλει λείψανα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος Στεφάνου διὰ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πασσαρίωνος. τοῦτου δὲ εἰς Χαλκηδὸνα φθάσαντος, θεωρεῖ ἡ μακαρία Πουλχερία αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ὁράματι τὸν ἅγιον Στέφανον λέγοντα αὐτῇ· Ἰδοῦ, ἡ προσευχή σου εἰσηκούσθη, καὶ ἡ αἴτησίς σου γέγονεν, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Χαλκηδὸνα. ἡ δὲ ἀναστᾶσα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς λαβοῦσα ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ παλάτιον λαβοῦσα κτίζει οἶκον ἐνδοξον τῷ ἁγίῳ πρωτομάρτυρι κακεῖ τὰ ἅγια κατέθετο λείψανα.

<sup>70</sup> *Historiarum compendium*, 337d–338a, Bonn ed. (1838), 592.

<sup>71</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, XIV.9, PG, 146, col. 1084f.

<sup>72</sup> For the other translation, see MSS and editions cited in *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, nos. 1650–51; and cf. F. Winkelmann, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos und ihre Quellen*, TU, 98 (Berlin, 1966), 126. Legend dated it to the time of Constantine, a century before Stephen's relics first appeared (see note 73 *infra*), but its real perpetrator seems to have been Anicia Juliana, the distinguished great-granddaughter of Theodosius II (d. ca. 530); see C. Capizzi, "L'attività edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," *Collectanea byzantina* (=OCA, 204) (Rome, 1977), 134f.; following R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, III, 1, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 490f.

<sup>73</sup> Pulcheria nourished an "unspeakable yearning" for Stephen because more relics reappeared "from where I know not" in Palestine in the year of her birth (399). For the actual date of the invention (415), see the nearly contemporary *inventio* narrative of Lucianus: S. Vanderlinden, "Revelatio Sancti Stephani (BHL 7850–6)," *REB*, 4 (1946), 178–217. We conclude that Nicephorus is without in-

Pulcheria's real motives are easy enough to disengage, once the translation and *adventus* of the Stephen relics are placed in the correct historical and ideological context. First, the *adventus* must be dated to the correct year, not 427 as in Theophanes and modern scholars following him, but almost certainly 421.<sup>74</sup>

In that year the court of Pulcheria and Theodosius II ordered an attack on Sassanian Persia, Rome's powerful antagonist to the east. The ostensible *casus belli* was persecution of Christians in the Persian Empire which had broken out in the previous year, but the more profound cause, as has recently been suggested,<sup>75</sup> lay in the inner logic of Roman absolutism. The Roman emperor, above all a "master of victory,"<sup>76</sup> had to win battles to secure his power, while military inertia or defeat threatened the independence of the ruler and even his personal safety. With an imperial woman the problem was compounded. Like other *augustae*, Pulcheria possessed no power of military command, and thus could not use it to establish her claims to independent authority.<sup>77</sup>

Since the death of Theodosius I in 395 the eastern branch of his house had experienced weakness. Ambitious politicians had overshadowed both his son Arcadius and his grandson Theodosius II, who was only seven when Arcadius died in 408. Neither son nor grandson had ever led troops into battle or shared the life of the camp, and thus neither could claim to be "master of victory" in the traditional sense. Although in the early years of Theodosius II there may have been at least one attempt to assassinate him,<sup>78</sup> for ambitious politicians violence was not the most comfortable route to a share in the imperial power. Three daughters of Arcadius also lived in the imperial palace: Arcadia (b. 400), Marina (b. 403), and his senior child Pulcheria (b. 399). As the daughters reached puberty men of imperial ambitions hoped for a most profitable marriage connection, one which would inevitably limit the independence of the Theodosian house.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, in 412 or early 413, just as she reached the age of marriage, Pulcheria dedicated herself to virginity and persuaded her sisters to do likewise. To ensure that no amount of coercion could reverse this decision, she called to witness "her brother's subjects, the priests of Constantinople, and God himself" as she dedicated an altar "for her own virginity and her brother's rule" in the Great Church of Constantinople.<sup>80</sup>

dependent value and that Theophanes is the only usable source (except for an important allusion in Proclus of Constantinople, quoted *infra*, pp. 131–32).

<sup>74</sup> K. Holum, "Pulcheria's Crusade A.D. 421–22 and the Ideology of Imperial Victory," *GRBS*, 18 (1977), 163 note 46.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 153–72. Some conclusions of Holum's study will be adopted here to provide a historical and ideological context for the *adventus* of St. Stephen.

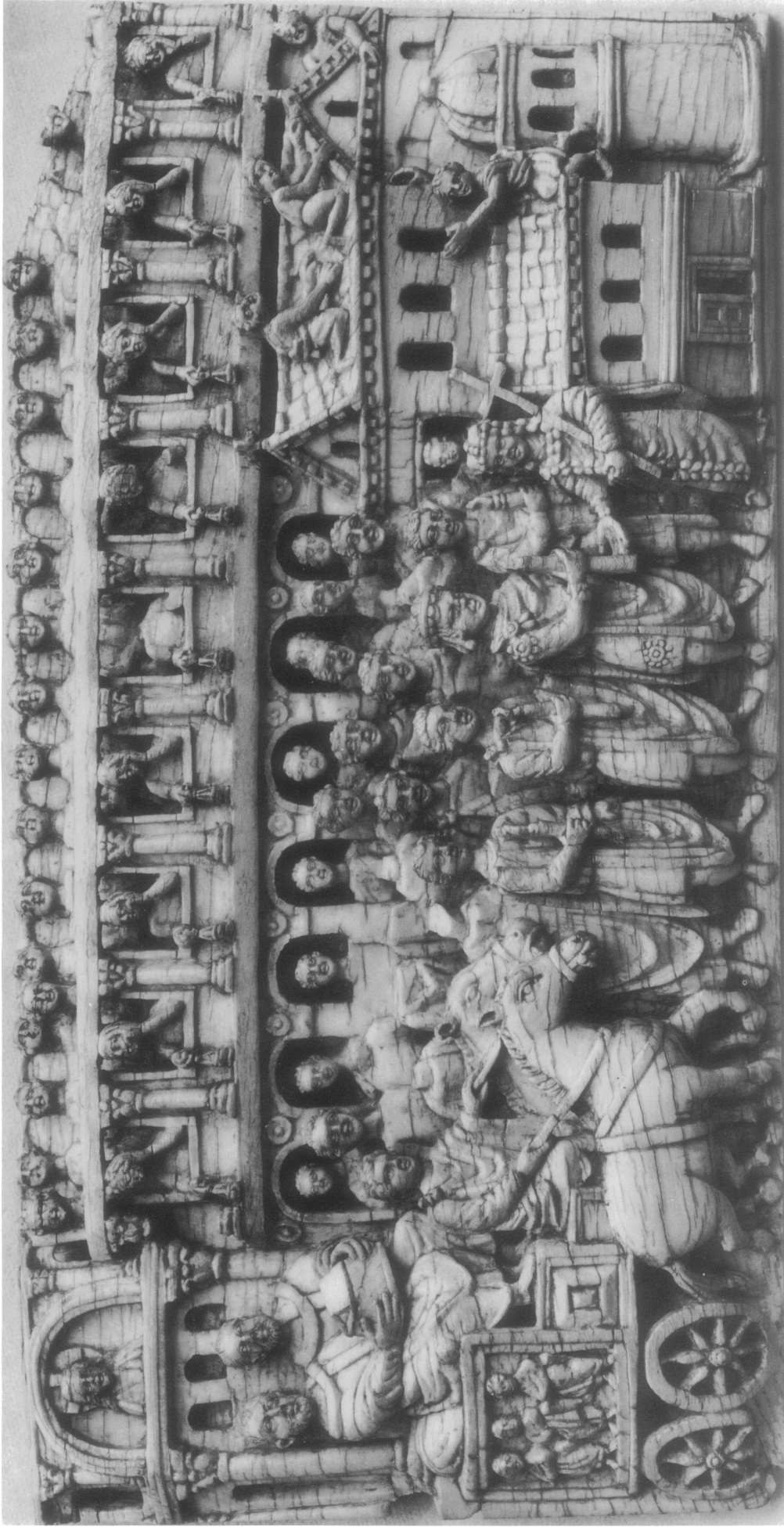
<sup>76</sup> J. Gagé, "Στρατὸς νικητοῖς: La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 13 (1933), 370–400, esp. 372; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* (Jena, 1938), 168 ff.; A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 31 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. S. Mashev, "Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der byzantinischen Kaiserinnen," *Byzantinoslavica*, 27 (1966), 308–43.

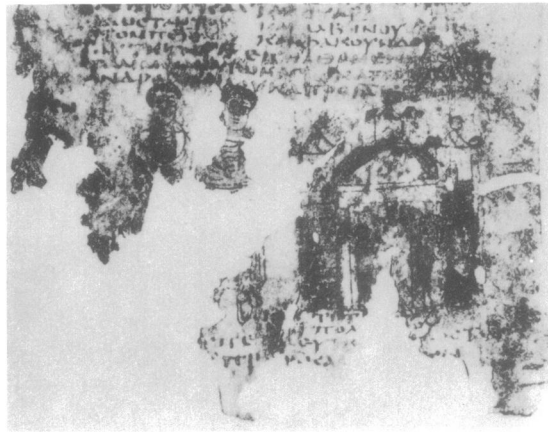
<sup>78</sup> The attack of Lucius, known from Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, frag. 303, ed. C. Zintzen (Hildesheim, 1967), 241; cf. A. Demandt, "Magister Militum," *RE*, suppl. 12 (1970), col. 747.

<sup>79</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX.1,3, ed. Hansen, 390; and Holum, *op. cit.*, 158 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX.1,4, ed. Hansen, 390.



1. Trier, Domschatz, Translation of the Relics Ivory (ca. 1:1)



2. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Papyrus 13296,  
*Adventus* of the Relics of SS. Luke and Andrew



3. Salonika, Arch of Galerius, *Adventus* of Galerius



4. Rossano, Cathedral Treasury, Gospels (p. 2), Entry of Christ into Jerusalem





5. Vatican Library, cod. 1613 (p. 344), Procession of the Relics of Anastasius of Persia



6. Madrid, Bibl. Nac., cod. 5-3, n. 2 (fol. 106v), Procession of the Relics of Michael III



7. Vatican Library, cod. 1613 (p. 121), Deposition of the Relics of St. Luke



8. Mount Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 456 (fol. 253r),  
Deposition of the Relics of St. Abibos



9. Vatican Library, cod. 1613 (p. 353), Procession of the Relics of John Chrysostom



10. Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. nouv. acq. lat. 2334 (fol. 40<sup>r</sup>), *Adventus* of the Patriarch Joseph





11. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Sarcophagus Lid Fragment, Triumphal Procession of the Deceased

It might be argued that this event as much as any other accounts for Pulcheria's own power and for the long and prosperous reign of Theodosius II. It ruined the hopes of the politicians, of course, but it was also an imperial act of first magnitude which moved the entire edifice of the Roman *basileia* decisively in new directions. The imperial palace, we are told, took on the atmosphere of a cloister. The imperial family fasted, learned and recited Scripture, and gathered to sing antiphons at canonical hours. Pulcheria and her sisters gave up the female vanities of cosmetics, fine clothing, and luxurious idleness to spend their time at the loom, in household pursuits worthy of "admirable" women, and especially on works of charity—founding oratories, homes for the poor and vagabond, and monasteries, and supporting the inmates generously from their personal incomes.<sup>81</sup> Bishop Atticus of Constantinople responded to this asceticism with a treatise addressed to the imperial sisters, "On Faith and Virginity," in which he apparently recommended Mary as a model for their virgin life.<sup>82</sup>

Undoubtedly, the vows of Pulcheria and her sisters and their consequent lifestyle renewed the prestige of the dynasty among the increasingly Christianized aristocracy of Constantinople, but in the view of contemporaries they also served a more potent function—conciliation of the emperor's divine protector. According to Sozomen, whose *Ecclesiastical History* provides much of our image of life in the Theodosian court, it was the vow of Pulcheria and her pious life which secured God's favor for Theodosius, through which in turn "every conspiracy and war raised against him dispersed spontaneously (αὐτομάτως)."<sup>83</sup> Emperors (and empresses) had been pious before, but in this reign even the usually conservative visual media of official propaganda took up the theme. On a monolithic granite column at the Hebdomon stood an equestrian statue of Theodosius II "exalting in victory"; the statue's base bore an inscription, which still survives, attributing the emperor's success to "the vows of his sisters (*pro*] *vo*tis *so*rorum)."<sup>84</sup> In this reign victory depended less on the emperor's warlike qualities than on conciliation of the divine protector. The coinage attests the same victory ideology. Between 420 and early 422 the mint of Constantinople initiated a new victory type, the much-discussed Long-Cross Solidi. With obverses of Theodosius II, of his Western colleague Honorius, and of Pulcheria and other empresses, these solidi present on their reverses, held by the goddess Victory, a long jeweled cross studded with precious stones. To contemporaries, who understood the meaning of the cross,

<sup>81</sup> Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.22,4–6, ed. Hussey, II, 779; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX.3,2, ed. Hansen, 395; Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, V.36,4, ed. Parmentier and Scheidweiler, 339; Proclus of Constantinople, note 103 *infra*.

<sup>82</sup> This much may be extracted from a brief notice of Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, 53, published with Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, ed. G. Herding (Leipzig, 1924), 93=Marcellinus comes, *Chronicon*, a. 416.2, MGH, AA, XI (Berlin, 1874), 73: *scripsit ad reginas... "de fide et virginitate" librum valde egregium, in quo praeveniens Nestorianum dogma impugnat*. K. Holum explores the imperial cult of Mary in a forthcoming monograph on Pulcheria and other empresses of the Theodosian house.

<sup>83</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX.3,3, ed. Hansen, 395.

<sup>84</sup> R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon*, Recherches françaises en Turquie, III (Paris, 1945), 33ff.; cf. B. Croke, "Evidence for the Hun Invasion of Thrace in A.D. 422," *GRBS*, 18 (1977), 365f., supporting 422 as the date of the monument.

their message was clear. Using the most potent victory symbol known in the vocabulary of Christian art, they declared that the victory of the emperor and Christ's victory on Golgotha were identical.<sup>85</sup>

Mention of these Long-Cross Solidi, first issued *ca.* 420–22, draws us inexorably into the orbit of the Persian war of 421 and the text of Theophanes quoted earlier. "Under the influence of the blessed Pulcheria," Theophanes relates, "the pious Theodosius sent . . . a golden cross studded with precious stones to be erected on Golgotha." It appears likely that this cross and the long jeweled cross of the solidi shared not only a common victory symbolism, conceived on the occasion of the Persian war, but also a common pattern, the much-revered processional "cross of Constantine."<sup>86</sup> This pattern cross existed in Constantinople by late in the fourth century, when it was kept at the Helenianae palace outside the Constantinian walls for use in coronation ceremonial.<sup>87</sup> In the early sixth century, however, Theodore Anagnostes located the same processional cross, now said to contain a fragment of the True Cross, in the imperial palace, from which it was carried forth "for the festal processions of emperors."<sup>88</sup> It also appears likely (and textual evidence exists to support the hypothesis)<sup>89</sup> that Pulcheria and Theodosius II introduced this cross into the palace to serve as a palladium of victory, a physical guarantee that Christ's victory on Golgotha would be repeated in the warlike undertakings of Theodosius and his sister.<sup>90</sup>

Theophanes continues: "In exchange for these gifts, the archbishop dispatched relics of the right arm of Stephen Protomartyr, in the care of St. Passarion." Treatment of Theodosian victory ideology has now clarified Pulcheria's motives in the transaction. Like the "cross of Constantine," the relics of St. Stephen would also function as a palladium of victory. Like the ascetic successes of Pulcheria and her sisters, the intercessions of the Saint would conciliate the divine protector.<sup>91</sup> Again, victory over Persia would repeat Christ's victory on Golgotha, and the *basileia* of Theodosius and Pulcheria would be secure.

<sup>85</sup> Holum, *op. cit.*, 153ff., 164ff., 172.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 166f.

<sup>87</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, I.91, Bonn ed. (1929), 414; cf. V. Tiftixoglou, "Die Hellenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel," *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, *Miscellanea byzantina monacensia*, XIV (Munich, 1973), 79ff., who dates the protocol of which this passage is a part to 393.

<sup>88</sup> Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. C. Hansen, GCS, 54 (Berlin, 1971), 13 lines 5–8, a previously unpublished comment in his *Historia tripartita* on Constantine's use of a fragment of the True Cross.

<sup>89</sup> Pseudo-Chrysostom, in PG, 50, col. 715; cf. F. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, ST, 247 (Vatican City, 1967), 158, 216f., identifying Proclus as the author.

<sup>90</sup> Holum, *op. cit.*, 166f.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the *Vita Symeonis syriaca*, 136, trans. H. Hilgenfeld, *TU*, 32,4 (1908), 179: "Auch der siegreiche und christliche Kaiser Leo . . . schickte Briefe und Gesandte mit grossem Eifer und schrieb an die Heerführer und Bischöfe, sie sollten ihm den Körper des heiligen Herrn Simeon schicken, um ihn bei sich zu ehren entsprechend den in ihm enthaltenen Schätzen, und um ihr Kaisertum durch seine Gebete zu behüten." Pulcheria's motives and her request to the archbishop Prayllius paralleled exactly those of Leo, but unlike the archbishop of Jerusalem the people of Antioch refused to part with their treasure: "Da erhob sich ganz Antiochia samt allen Einwohnern, und mit Tränen und Seufzern schrieben sie und baten ihn: 'Weil unsere Stadt keine Mauer hat, . . . haben wir ihn geholt, damit er unsere Mauer ist und wir durch seine Gebete geschützt werden.' Kaum liess er sich dadurch bewegen, ihn bei ihnen zu lassen" (*ibid.*).

St. Stephen arrived with Passarion in Chalcedon, announced himself to Pulcheria in a vision, "and she arose taking her brother with her and went to greet the holy relics (εἰς συνάντησιν)." Appropriately, Theophanes mentions no joyous thronging of citizens, mighty and humble, young and old, male and female, because this *adventus* would benefit not the *polis* but the *basileia*. "Receiving them into the palace, she founded (κτίζει) a splendid chapel for the holy Protomartyr, and in it she placed the holy relics (κατέθετο)." In the final act of the sequence the focus is clearly on Pulcheria, who is identified as the *ktistes* and as the authority responsible for the *apothesis*.

For this last act of the sequence no more precise visualization could be contrived than that of the Trier Ivory. The two bishops who bear the relics may be Atticus of Constantinople and St. Passarion himself, a famous ascetic of Palestine also attested as *chorepiskopos*.<sup>92</sup> The imperial wagon on which they ride has just emerged from the tetrapylon into a special precinct which invites identification with the imperial palace. Like the words of the text, the design of the Trier ivory focuses attention on Pulcheria, who stands as *ktistes* before the splendid chapel with an open door which awaits the *apothesis*. Workmen clamber about on the superstructure, indicating that she founded the chapel<sup>93</sup> for these relics, as in the text of Theophanes. Pulcheria extends her right arm to receive St. Stephen, for the moment is at hand when the saint whose very name evoked the crown of victory<sup>94</sup> will be joined with the empress in a dynamic union.

Another text, this one nearly contemporary with the events of 421, clarifies with convincing precision the force of this gesture, and indeed the entire dynamic of the Trier ivory:

ἐν βασιλείοις στέφανος· ἐθαλάμεισε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλὶς καὶ Παρθένος.

The crown/St. Stephen is in the palace, for the virgin empress has brought him into her bridechamber.

This passage is from an encomium of St. Stephen, published among the *spuria* of St. John Chrysostom<sup>95</sup> but delivered most likely by Proclus, his sixth successor as bishop of Constantinople (d. 447).<sup>96</sup> In other sermons Proclus employed the verb θαλαμεύειν for Mary's reception of the Logos into her womb<sup>97</sup> and

<sup>92</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, 16, ed. E. Schwartz, *TU*, 49,2 (1939), 26; cf. F. Delmas, "Saint Passarion," *EO*, 3 (1900), 162–63.

<sup>93</sup> On the chapel of St. Stephen in Daphne, cf. Janin, *op. cit.* (note 72 *supra*), 489f.; and esp. T. F. Mathews, "Architecture et liturgie dans les premières églises palatiales de Constantinople," *Revue de l'Art*, 24 (1974), 22ff., who observes that it was "en aucun sens une église paroissiale ordinaire" but rather "une église palatiale conçue pour s'accorder avec le palais du point de vue architectural et pour répondre aux besoins liturgiques de la cour impériale." In its small scale the Trier ivory basilica corresponds well with this description, but it does not support Mathews' additional hypothesis that St. Stephen's in Daphne was octagonal or central in plan. To project a structure joined compactly with others in the palace complex, the artist would have to distort somewhat and draw on a general pictorial vocabulary, but as with the Chalke (*supra*, pp. 125–26) one would except some verisimilitude.

<sup>94</sup> Gagé, *op. cit.* (note 76 *supra*), 381.

<sup>95</sup> PG, 63, col. 933.

<sup>96</sup> Leroy, *op. cit.*, 158.

<sup>97</sup> *Oratio* V.2–3, PG, 65, col. 720: δὲν πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ ὕμνησεν, αὕτη μὴν ἀνερμηνεύτως ἐθαλάμεισε. . . θάλαμος, ὡς ἐν νυμφῶνι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκήνωσε.

for the mystical union of Pulcheria herself with the crucified Christ,<sup>98</sup> and identified the symbolic “bridechamber” in question with virginity,<sup>99</sup> which Pulcheria, of course, shared with Mary. In the present text he uses the same symbolic language with dynastic and imperial overtones, for he declares that the mystical union of virgin empress and Stephen the victory crown took place within the palace.

As we observed above, the long cross which Pulcheria cradles on her left arm makes perfect sense as an attribute of *adventus* ceremonial. But if our historical interpretation of the Trier ivory is accepted we may also exploit the hypothesis expressed earlier, that when Pulcheria introduced St. Stephen’s relics into the palace she placed the revered “cross of Constantine” there as well. In the sixth century Theodore Anagnostes merely attests the presence of this cross “in the palace,” but in the tenth century the *De ceremoniis* does specify the church of St. Stephen.<sup>100</sup> It seems likely that Pulcheria founded St. Stephen’s not only to receive the relics of the Protomartyr but also to serve as a palace repository for other objects which might reinforce the Theodosian notion of *basileia*<sup>101</sup>—in particular for the “cross of Constantine” which, as the pattern for Pulcheria’s Golgotha cross and the cross of the long-cross solidi, formed part of the same ideological program. If this is so, then those who created the iconography of the Trier ivory would have placed a cross on Pulcheria’s arm not only as an attribute of *adventus* ceremonial, but also to evoke the “cross of Constantine” as well, as a potent instrument to draw together the various manifestations of Christ’s victory in the events of 421. For those sensitive to its meaning, the cross of the ivory symbolized both Christ’s victory on Golgotha and the repetition of this victory in the martyrdom of St. Stephen,<sup>102</sup> in the ascetic achievement of Pulcheria,<sup>103</sup> and in the promise of success in the Persian war.

We wish to point out in conclusion that our study is based on the premise that an iconographic interpretation of the Trier ivory could not proceed from its stylistic dating even if such a dating were possible. By its very nature a relic translation was both a historical and a ceremonial-liturgical event, one which

<sup>98</sup> *Oratio* XII.1, *ibid.*, col. 788, quoted *infra*, note 103.

<sup>99</sup> *Oratio* XXVI.31, ed. Leroy, 187: παρθενεία, τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ θάλαμος.

<sup>100</sup> *De ceremoniis*, I.1,44, ed. A. Vogt, I (1935), 6; II (1939), 33; also II.8,10, 40, Bonn ed., 539, 549f., 640.

<sup>101</sup> This function is confirmed as early as the reign of Zeno (474–91), who deposited in St. Stephen’s a Gospel of Matthew copied by St. Barnabas and found on Cyprus with the relics of Barnabas himself; Theodore Anagnostes, *Epitome*, 436, ed. Hansen, 121.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Basil of Seleucia, *Oratio* XLI, PG, 85, col. 472: καλῶς κατεκόσμησέν σε [i.e., St. Stephen] ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παθόντος, νευρώσας τῆς σῆς προθυμίας τὰ αἰσθητήρια συνηρίθμησεν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, κατηρίθμησεν ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν, i.e., the cross adorns St. Stephen because the instrument of Christ’s passion “firmed him up” for his own martyrdom. Cf. note 54 *supra*.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Proclus, *Oratio* XI.1, PG, 65, col. 788, paralleling the ascetic achievement of Pulcheria with the martyrdom of St. Stephen: πάλαι μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λίθοις κατὰ Στεφάνου ἠκόντιζον, καταχῶσαι βουλόμενοι τὸν τοῦ σταυρωθέντος πρῶταρχον ἀθλητὴν καὶ ἀμαχὸν ῥήτορα· ἡ δὲ ἑαυτὴν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναθεῖσα παρθένος, πλοῦτον δι’ εὐλάβειαν ἐκένωσέ τε καὶ ἀνάλωσεν. τὴν οἰκείαν σάρκα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐνέκρωσε· τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐν ψυχῇ ἐθαλάμεισεν· τὸν ἐπίγειον οὐρανὸν τὸν ὁρώμενον ἐκαλλώπισεν κτλ. Leroy, *op. cit.*, 158, who believes that this sermon was delivered in St. Stephen’s in Daphne, proposes that the final words quoted here refer to its mosaic decorations.

entered the church calendar for celebration on a yearly basis and which had, therefore, a continuing present reality and a continuing reason to be illustrated.<sup>104</sup> No scholar would confuse the date of the Menologium of Basil II, for example, with the dates of the translations depicted in its miniatures, or would interpret these miniatures, if their subjects were unknown, from stylistic affinities or from datable hairstyles, fibula forms, architectural motifs, and the like. Within any visual tradition reillustration naturally meant the reinterpretation of such details according to contemporary fashion.<sup>105</sup>

It has long been assumed—correctly, we believe—that the Trier plaque once decorated the side of a reliquary box in which were kept the remains, or part of the remains, which are translated in the relief.<sup>106</sup> This hypothesis provides a complementary rationale for separating the date of the carving from the date of the procession. For it was characteristic of the early Church to respond to a growing martyr cult by subdividing and redistributing the saints' relics.<sup>107</sup> One can easily imagine the box employed for the redistribution of St. Stephen's remains being decorated with reliefs of his martyrdom and burial, of the invention of his relics, and of the circumstances of their original translation in 421.<sup>108</sup>

The Trier ivory could, of course, represent an event unknown from the literary sources, but this does not appear likely. There can have been relatively few occasions in the Early Byzantine period when an empress translated relics to support her own *basileia*,<sup>109</sup> and fewer still when *apothesis* occurred in a newly constructed church within the palace complex. Thus *nihil obstante* we believe that we have identified an important visual document which clarifies the dynamics of relic *adventus* and the characteristic victory ideology of the Theodosian house.

K. H. University of Maryland  
G. V. Dumbarton Oaks

<sup>104</sup> Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.16, ed. Parmentier, 26, after describing the translation of the bones of Ignatius of Antioch in 371, adds: "From this a public feast is celebrated down to our own time with rejoicing of the whole people." We cannot offer direct evidence for celebration of the Stephen *adventus* immediately after 421. Proclus of Constantinople delivered an *encomium* of St. Stephen, *Oratio* XII, PG, 65, col. 809ff., on his feast day, December 26, with no mention of the *adventus*. Proclus did allude to it in another *encomium* quoted *supra*, p. 131, but with no hint of the date or circumstances of delivery. Of course, celebration of this *adventus* may have been limited to the liturgical cycle of the court.

<sup>105</sup> Weitzmann, *Illustrations* (note 19 *supra*), 157ff. Thus, the Trier ivory might show updating in imperial costume (notes 40, 43 *supra*) and in the decoration of the Chalke gate (p. 13 *supra*).

<sup>106</sup> E.g., Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 262; Volbach, *op. cit.*, 95; Fischer, *op. cit.*, 7f.

<sup>107</sup> Delehay, *op. cit.* (note 7 *supra*), 60ff. and *passim*.

<sup>108</sup> The first illustration of the translation of 421, if it was not the Trier ivory itself, may have been an illustrated chronicle (K. Weitzmann, "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion*, 16 [1942-43], 87-134) or an illustrated saint's life (*idem*, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* [Washington, D.C., 1975], 84ff.). The ivory might well be a deluxe, expanded redaction based on something as simple as the Berlin chronicle fragment (fig. 2). Another likely source is the mural decoration of St. Stephen's in Daphne. Gregory of Nyssa, *De S. Theodoro Martyre*, PG, 46, col. 737, describes a *martyrium* of St. Theodore at Euchaita with painted images of the Saint's life and martyrdom. Similar decorations in Pulcheria's palatine chapel (note 103 *supra*) could not have lacked illustration of the *adventus* of 421 and would have interpreted the event in the same manner as the Trier ivory.

<sup>109</sup> A possible example: Marcellinus comes, *Chronicon*, a. 439.2, MGH, *AA*, XI, 80, reports that when Pulcheria's sister-in-law Eudocia returned from the Holy Land, she brought more relics of St. Stephen with her which were deposited (later?) in the basilica of St. Lawrence.